

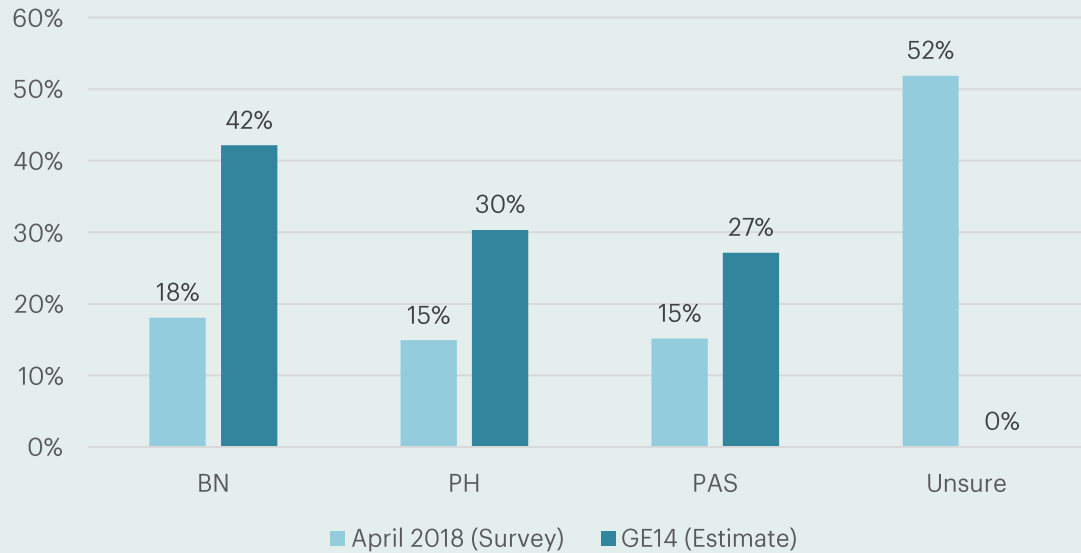
INVOKE

forecasting ge15
voter trends and
likely outcomes



ge14 in review.

2018: Malay Support Evolution



Final Fencesitter Swing

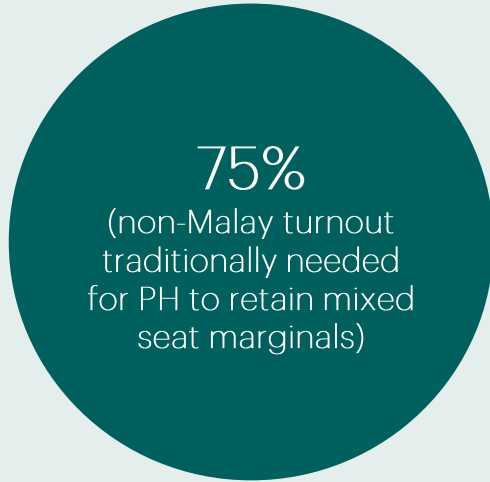
BN – 46%

PH – 29%

PAS – 23%

Other – 2%

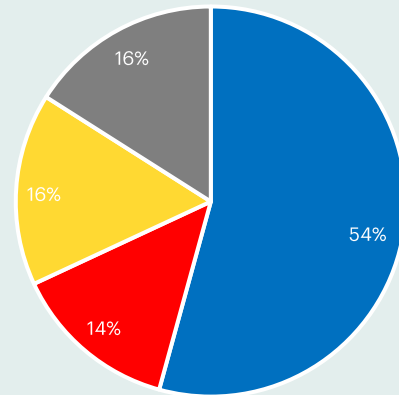
ge14 compared.



Intention to Vote	February 2018 (Pre-GE14)	February 2022 (Pre-PRN Johor)	November 2022 (Pre-GE15)
Malay	88.2%	78.1%	91.4%
Chinese	82.6%	66.6%	88.9%
Indian	90.5%	78.2%	94.3%

post-nomination sentiment.

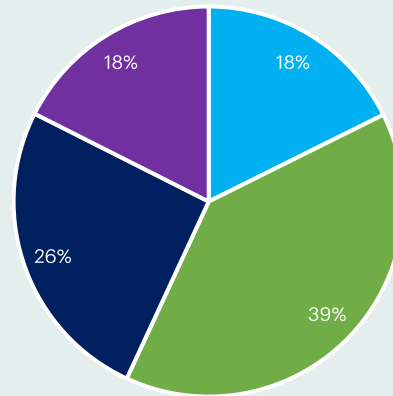
How has Nomination Day changed how you feel about GE15 and voting? [Malays]



■ More positive ■ More negative ■ I did not pay attention to Nomination Day ■ No change

post-nomination sentiment.

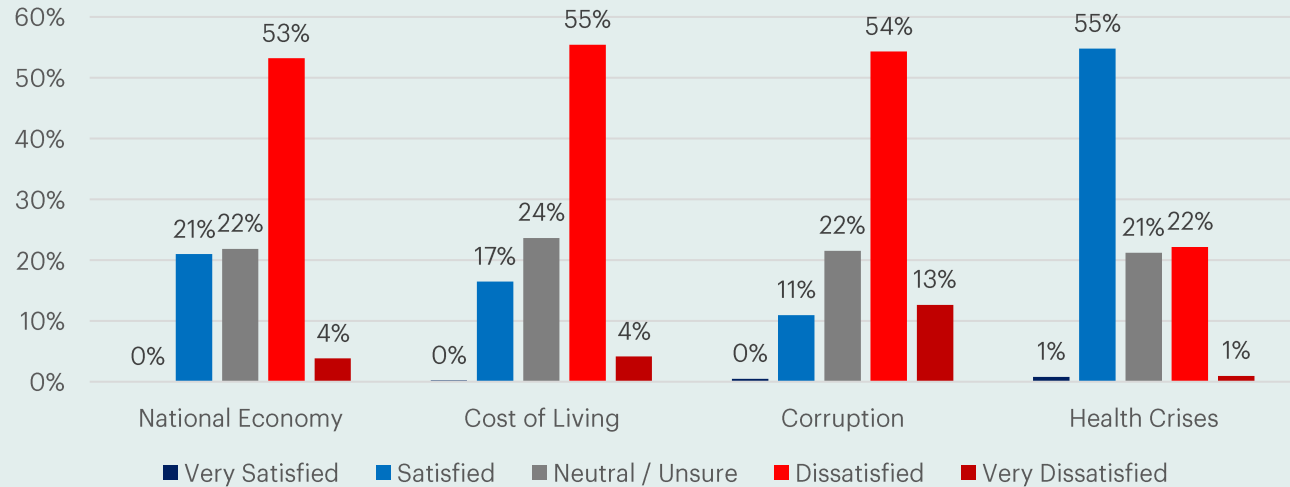
Which of the following national issues is most likely to impact your vote? [Malays]



■ Corruption ■ Cost of living ■ Political stability ■ Other

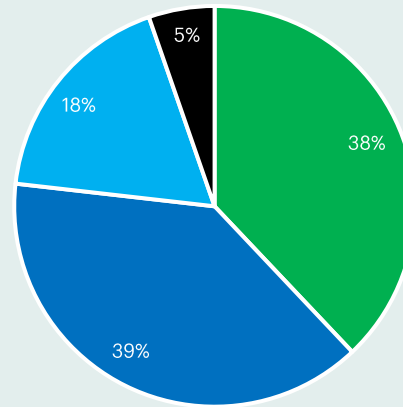
post-nomination sentiment.

How satisfied are you with the Federal Government's handling of these issues? [Malays]



post-nomination sentiment.

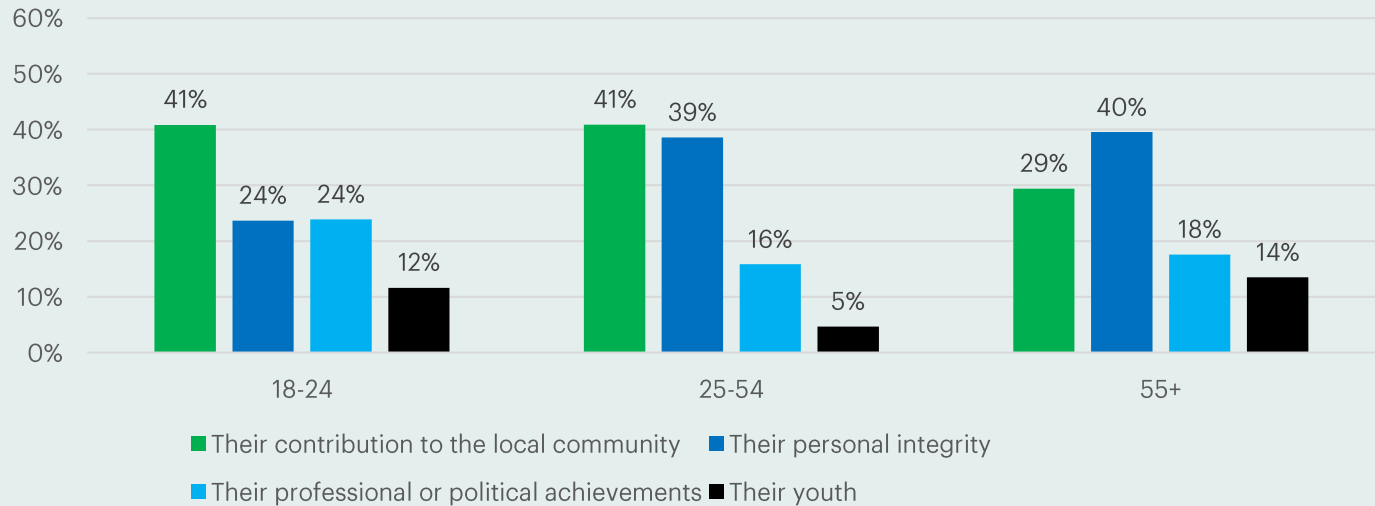
Which of the following factors most impacts your perception of a candidate? [Malays]



■ Their contribution to the local community ■ Their personal integrity ■ Their professional or political achievements ■ Their youth

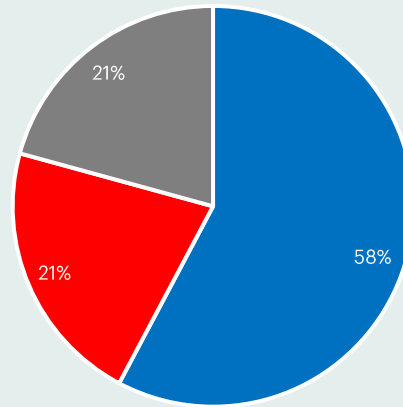
post-nomination sentiment.

Which of the following factors most impacts your perception of a candidate? [All – Age Group]



post-nomination sentiment.

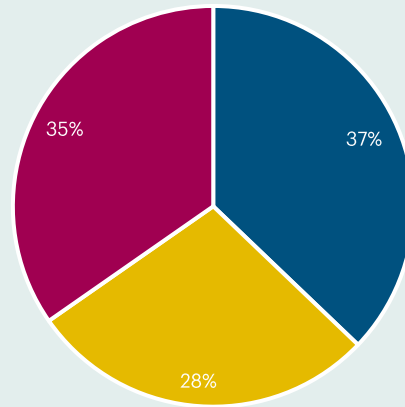
Are you satisfied with the candidate options in your constituency? [Malays]



■ Yes ■ No ■ I don't know enough of the candidates on offer

post-nomination sentiment.

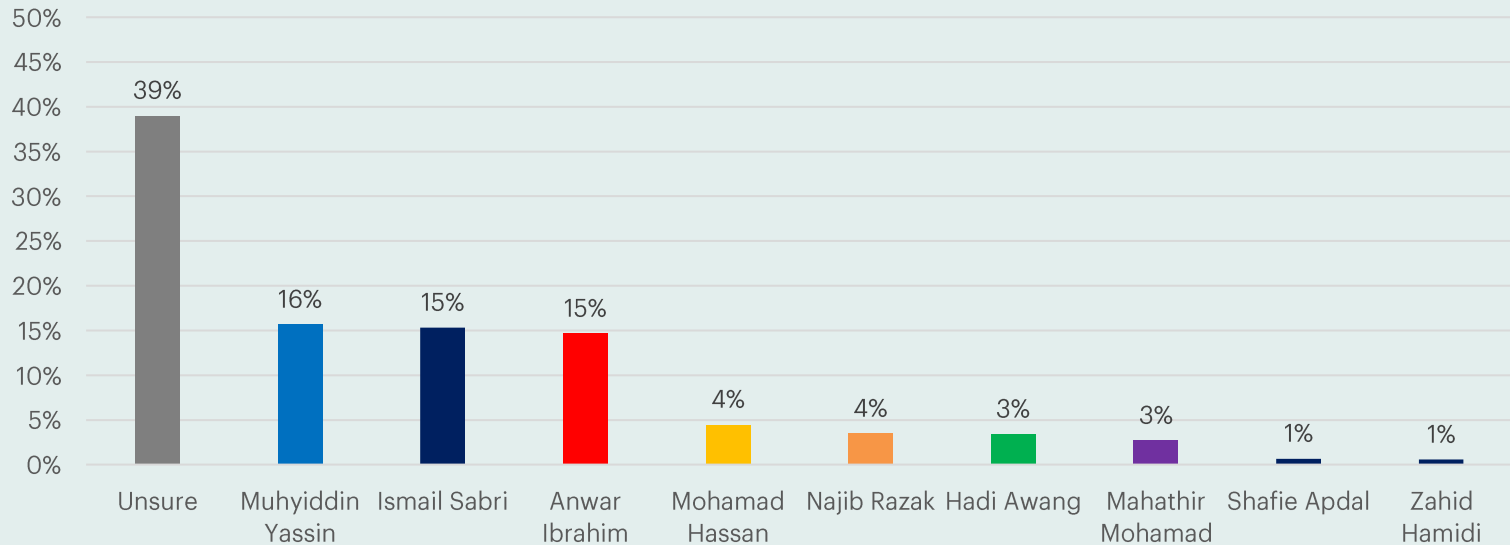
When voting, which of the following factors is most important to you? [Malays]



■ Party ■ Candidate ■ Party's Prime Minister Candidate

post-nomination sentiment.

Who do you most want to see become Prime Minister after GE15?
[Malays]



malay support levels (national).

Party	September 2022	October 2022	November Week 1 (Pre-Nomination)	November Week 2 (Post-Nomination)
BN	34.4%	34.9% (+0.5%)	29.8% (-5.1%)	30.0% (+0.2%)
PH	15.3%	18.5% (+3.2%)	20.6% (+2.1%)	21.8% (+1.2%)
PAS / PN	12.6%	13.4% (+0.8%)	22.7% (+9.3%)	24.0% (+1.3%)
Other	11.1%	8.8% (-2.3%)	5.5% (-3.3%)	4.6% (-0.9%)
Unsure	26.7%	24.4% (-2.3%)	21.4% (-3.0%)	19.6% (-1.8%)

Week 2 Sample – 1,095 complete responses; 3.0% margin of error

seat-by-seat projections.

Based on INVOKE's final GE14 survey and estimate of the GE14 results, the following assumptions could be made:

1. Malay fencesitters swung 46% to BN, 29% to PH, and 23% to PAS
2. >80% of the Chinese and >70% of the Indian votes went to PH

For the purposes of INVOKE's GE15 projections, the following assumptions are made:

1. Malay fencesitters will swing 30% to BN, 30% to PH, and 40% to PN
2. At least 70% of the Chinese and 60% of the Indian votes will go to PH

kedah (malays).

Party	Week 1 May 2018	Election Week 2018	November Week 1 (Pre-Nomination)	November Week 2 (Post-Nomination)	GE15 After 30-30-40 Swing
BN	35.9%	28.7% (-7.2%)	32.1%	27.3% (-4.8%)	31.8%
PH	15.9%	28.8% (+12.9%)	17.0%	19.3% (+2.3%)	23.8%
PAS / PN	22.1%	21.1% (-1.0%)	22.5%	31.4% (+8.9%)	37.4%
Other	-	-	7.4%	6.9% (-0.5%)	7.0%
Unsure	26.1%	21.3% (-4.8%)	21.0%	15.0% (-6.0%)	-

Week 2 Sample – 1,327 complete responses; 2.7% margin of error

Party	BN	PH	PN
Seats	0 (-2)	6 (-4)	9 (+6)

kedah (14/11).

Party	Projected Winner	Margin (Marginals Only)	Swing?
Langkawi	PN-PPBM		PN GAIN
Jerlun	PN-PAS		PN GAIN
Kubang Pasu	PN-PPBM		PN GAIN
Padang Terap	PN-PAS		PN GAIN
Pokok Sena	PN-PAS		PN GAIN
Alor Setar	PH-PKR		PH HOLD
Kuala Kedah	PH-PKR	4.1% PH LEAD	PH HOLD
Pendang	PN-PAS		PN HOLD
Jerai	PN-PAS		PN HOLD
Sik	PN-PAS		PN HOLD
Merbok	PH-PKR	4.7% PH LEAD	PH HOLD
Sungai Petani	PH-PKR		PH HOLD
Baling	PN-PAS		PN GAIN
Padang Serai	PH-PKR		PH HOLD
Kulim-Bandar Baharu	PH-PKR	4.9% PH LEAD	PH HOLD

perak (malays).

Party	Week 1 May 2018	Election Week 2018	November Week 1 (Pre-Nomination)	November Week 2 (Post-Nomination)	GE15 After 30-30-40 Swing
BN	32.7%	37.6% (+4.9%)	36.0%	37.5% (+1.5%)	42.3%
PH	17.8%	24.3% (+6.5%)	15.0%	25.5% (+10.5%)	30.3%
PAS / PN	12.3%	15.9% (+3.6%)	10.0%	20.8% (+10.8%)	26.8%
Other	-	-	7.0%	3.7% (-3.3%)	0.6%
Unsure	37.2%	22.2% (-15.0%)	32.0%	12.5% (-19.5%)	-

Week 2 Sample – 1,184 complete responses; 2.9% margin of error

Party	BN	PH	PN
Seats	7 (-4)	15 (+2)	2 (+2)

perak (14/11).

Party	Projected Winner	Margin (Marginals Only)	Swing?
Gerik	BN-UMNO*	2.4% BN LEAD	BN REGAIN
Lenggong	BN-UMNO		BN HOLD
Larut	PN-PPBM*	(7.7% BN LEAD OVER PH) (16.2% BN LEAD OVER PN)	PN GAIN
Parit Buntar	PH-AMANAH		PH HOLD
Bagan Serai	BN-UMNO		BN REGAIN
Bukit Gantang	PN-PAS*	(1.9% PH LEAD OVER BN) (19.3% PH LEAD OVER PN)	PN GAIN
Taiping	PH-DAP		PH HOLD
Padang Rengas	BN-UMNO	1.1% BN LEAD	BN HOLD
Sungai Siput	PH-PKR		PH HOLD
Tambun	PH-PKR		PH REGAIN
Ipoh Timor	PH-DAP		PH HOLD
Ipoh Barat	PH-DAP		PH HOLD

Party	BN	PH	PN
Seats	7 (-4)	15 (+2)	2 (+2)

perak (14/11).

Party	Projected Winner	Margin (Marginals Only)	Swing?
Batu Gajah	PH-DAP		PH HOLD
Kuala Kangsar	PH-AMANAH	3.7% PH LEAD	PH GAIN
Beruas	PH-DAP		PH HOLD
Parit	BN-UMNO		BN HOLD
Kampar	PH-DAP		PH HOLD
Gopeng	PH-PKR		PH HOLD
Tapah	PH-PKR		PH GAIN
Pasir Salak	BN-UMNO		BN HOLD
Lumut	PH-AMANAH	0.1% PH LEAD	PH HOLD
Bagan Datuk	BN-UMNO*	(7.2% PH LEAD)	BN HOLD
Teluk Intan	PH-DAP		PH HOLD
Tanjong Malim	PH-PKR		PH HOLD

selangor (malays).

Party	Week 1 May 2018	Election Week 2018	November Week 1 (Pre-Nomination)	November Week 2 (Post-Nomination)	GE15 After 30-30-40 Swing
BN	14.8%	26.7% (+11.9%)	28.6%	31.4% (+2.8%)	37.6%
PH	12.2%	34.7% (+22.5%)	20.4%	30.4% (+10.0%)	36.6%
PAS / PN	10.0%	11.3% (+1.3%)	11.2%	14.2% (+3.0%)	22.1%
Other	-	-	10.8%	6.8% (-4.0%)	3.8%
Unsure	63.1%	27.3% (-35.8%)	28.9%	17.2% (-11.7%)	-

Week 2 Sample – 1,300 complete responses; 2.7% margin of error

Party	BN	PH	PN
Seats	3 (+1)	19 (-1)	0 (=)

selangor (14/11).

Party	Projected Winner	Margin (Marginals Only)	Swing?
Sabak Bernam	BN-UMNO*	(6.0% PH LEAD)	BN REGAIN
Sungai Besar	PH-PKR		PH REGAIN
Hulu Selangor	PH-PKR		PH HOLD
Tanjong Karang	BN-UMNO*	(9.1% PH LEAD)	BN HOLD
Kuala Selangor	PH-AMANAH		PH HOLD
Selayang	PH-PKR		PH HOLD
Gombak	PH-PKR		PH REGAIN
Ampang	PH-PKR		PH REGAIN
Pandan	PH-PKR		PH HOLD
Hulu Langat	PH-AMANAH		PH HOLD
Bangi	PH-DAP		PH HOLD

Party	BN	PH	PN
Seats	3 (+1)	19 (-1)	0 (=)

selangor (14/11).

Party	Projected Winner	Margin (Marginals Only)	Swing?
Puchong	PH-DAP		PH HOLD
Subang	PH-PKR		PH HOLD
Petaling Jaya	PH-PKR		PH HOLD
Damansara	PH-DAP		PH HOLD
Sungai Buloh	BN-UMNO*	(10.3% PH LEAD)	BN GAIN
Shah Alam	PH-AMANAH		PH HOLD
Kapar	PH-PKR		PH HOLD
Klang	PH-DAP		PH HOLD
Kota Raja	PH-AMANAH		PH HOLD
Kuala Langat	PH-PKR		PH HOLD
Sepang	PH-AMANAH		PH HOLD

*Khairy Jamaluddin needs to swing:

1. 6% of Malay voters and 5% of non-Malay voters away from PH; or
2. 10% of Malay voters away from PH; or
3. 10% of Malay voters from PN and 5% of non-Malay voters away from PH

n9 (malays).

Party	Week 1 May 2018	Election Week 2018	November Week 1 (Pre-Nomination)	November Week 2 (Post-Nomination)	GE15 After 30-30-40 Swing
BN	38.7%	45.5% (+6.6%)	32.8%	31.7% (-1.1%)	39.7%
PH	25.1%	26.0% (+0.9%)	24.7%	22.0% (-2.7%)	30.0%
PAS / PN	6.3%	6.7% (+0.4%)	11.4%	16.2% (+4.8%)	26.6%
Other	-	-	7.3%	6.7% (-0.6%)	3.7%
Unsure	29.9%	21.9% (-8.0%)	23.7%	23.4% (-0.3%)	-

Week 2 Sample – 502 complete responses; 4.4% margin of error

Party	BN	PH	PN
Seats	0 (-3)	8 (+3)	0 (=)

n9 (14/11).

Party	Projected Winner	Margin (Marginals Only)	Swing?
Jelebu	PH-AMANA		PH GAIN
Jempol	PH-AMANA		PH GAIN
Seremban	PH-DAP		PH HOLD
Kuala Pilah	PH-PKR	0.8% PH LEAD	PH REGAIN
Rasah	PH-DAP		PH HOLD
Rembau	PH-PKR	1.7% PH LEAD	PH GAIN
Port Dickson	PH-PKR		PH HOLD
Tampin	PH-AMANA		PH HOLD

johor (malays).

Party	Week 1 May 2018	Election Week 2018	November Week 1 (Pre-Nomination)	November Week 2 (Post-Nomination)	GE15 After 30-30-40 Swing
BN	46.1%	36.3% (-9.8%)	40.3%	43.2% (+2.9%)	48.6%
PH	28.6%	34.6% (+6.0%)	17.9%	16.7% (-1.2%)	22.1%
PAS / PN	5.1%	7.5% (+2.4%)	13.5%	17.5% (+4.0%)	24.7%
Other	-	-	3.0%	4.5% (+1.5%)	5.6%
Unsure	20.2%	21.6% (+1.4%)	25.4%	18.1% (-7.3%)	-

Week 2 Sample – 1,216 complete responses; 2.8% margin of error

Party	BN	PH	PN
Seats	12 (+4)	13 (-5)	1 (+1)

johor (14/11).

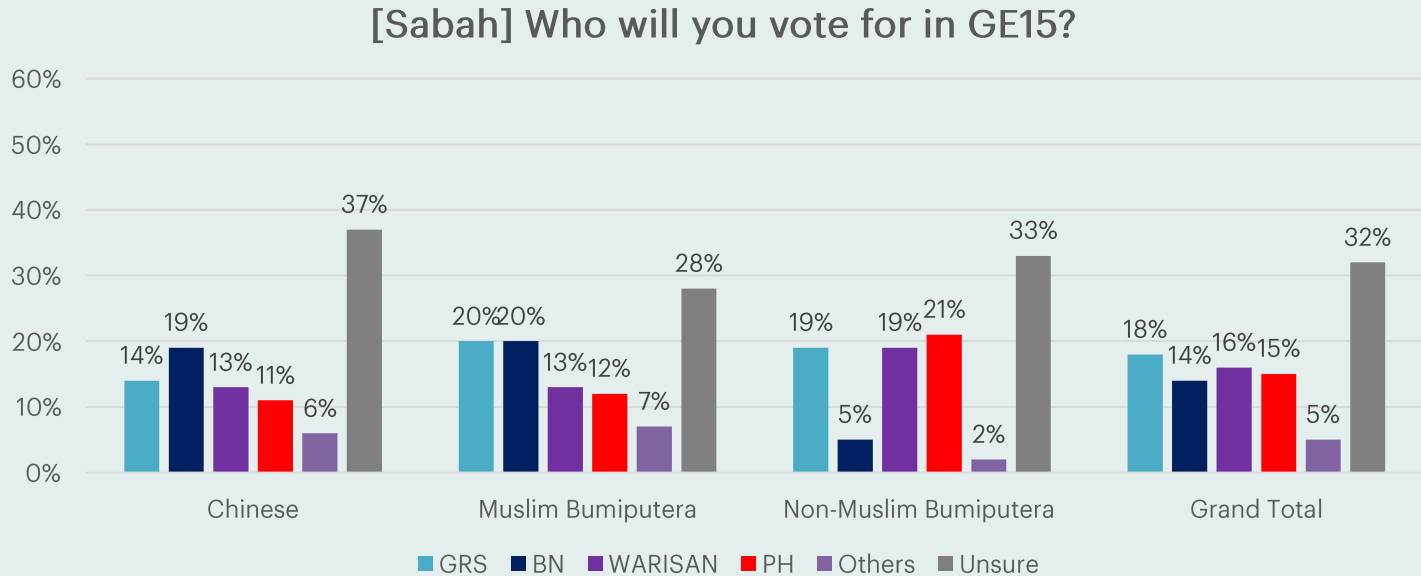
Party	Projected Winner	Margin (Marginals Only)	Swing?
Segamat	PH-PKR		PH REGAIN
Sekijang	PH-PKR	1.5% PH LEAD	PH HOLD
Labis	PH-DAP		PH HOLD
Pagoh	PN-PPBM*	(4.0% BN LEAD OVER PH) (22.8% BN LEAD OVER PN)	PN GAIN
Ledang	PH-PKR		PH HOLD
Bakri	PH-DAP		PH HOLD
Muar	BN-UMNO	3.6% BN LEAD	BN GAIN
Parit Sulong	BN-UMNO		BN HOLD
Ayer Hitam	BN-MCA*	(2.0% PH LEAD)	BN HOLD
Sri Gading	BN-UMNO	1.9% BN LEAD	BN GAIN
Batu Pahat	PH-PKR		PH REGAIN
Simpang Renggam	BN-UMNO	1.9% BN LEAD	BN GAIN
Kluang	PH-DAP		PH HOLD

Party	BN	PH	PN
Seats	12 (+4)	13 (-5)	1 (+1)

johor (14/11).

Party	Projected Winner	Margin (Marginals Only)	Swing?
Sembrong	BN-UMNO		BN HOLD
Mersing	BN-UMNO		BN HOLD
Tenggara	BN-UMNO		BN HOLD
Kota Tinggi	BN-UMNO		BN HOLD
Pengerang	BN-UMNO		BN HOLD
Tebrau	PH-PKR		PH HOLD
Pasir Gudang	PH-PKR		PH HOLD
Johor Bahru	PH-PKR		PH HOLD
Pulai	PH-AMANAH		PH HOLD
Iskandar Puteri	PH-DAP		PH HOLD
Kulai	PH-DAP		PH HOLD
Pontian	BN-UMNO		BN HOLD
Tanjung Piai	BN-MCA*	(2.9% PH LEAD)	BN HOLD

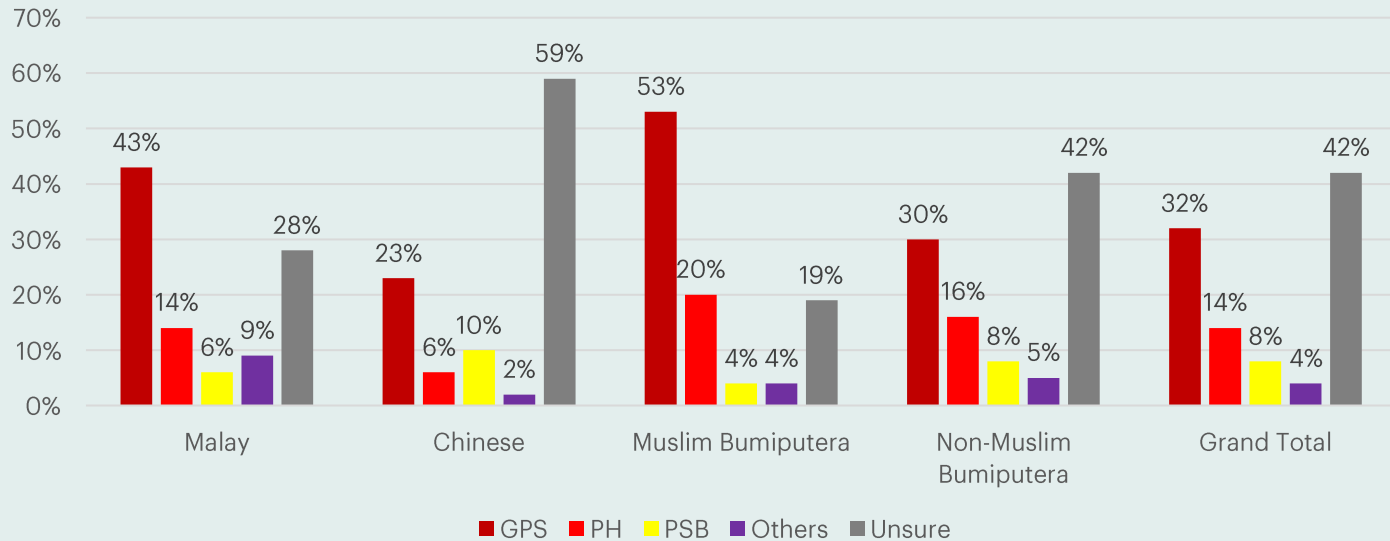
sabah (14/11).



Sample – 534 complete responses; 4.3% margin of error

sarawak (14/11).

[Sarawak] Who will you vote for in GE15?



Sample – 335 complete responses; 5.4% margin of error

final count (as of 14/11).

	BN			PH			PN		GPS	WARISAN	GRS
	UMNO	MCA	PBRS	PKR	DAP	AMANAH	PAS	PPBM	PBB/PRS/S UPP/PDP		PBS/STAR
PERLIS	2						1				
KEDAH				6			7	2			
KELANTAN							9	5			
TERENGGANU							7	1			
PENANG	2			4	7						
PERAK	7			5	7	3	1	1			
PAHANG	11	1			2						
SELANGOR	3			10	4	5					
W.P.				5	5	1		1			
N. SEMBILAN				3	2	3					
MELAKA	3			1	1	1					
JOHOR	10	2		7	5	1		1			
SABAH	8		1		2			5		6	4
SARAWAK					1				30		
TOTAL	46	3	1	41	36	14	25	17	30	6	4
	50			91			41		30	6	4

post-ge coalition prospects.

Option 1 – BN + PN + GRS + GPS (125 Seats)

1. Continuation of the status quo – internal wrangling likely over PM and DPM posts; GPS to be kingmaker.

Option 2 – PH + GPS (121 Seats)

1. Unlikely based on history – but DAP Sarawak wipeout, empowerment of fresh faces, and autonomy concessions make it a possibility.

Numerically Possible (But Improbable to Impossible)

1. BN + PN + Warisan + GPS (127 Seats)
2. BN + PAS + Warisan + GRS + GPS (115 Seats)
3. UMNO + DAP + Warisan + GPS (118 Seats)
4. UMNO + PKR + Warisan + GPS (123 Seats)

thank
you.

QUERIES

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